

/159 cont./

121
182
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[171]

/footnote 1 continued/ completely any reference to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias, L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to
182 exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241
184

Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains and by tools and by modes.

241
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184

First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasingly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is horticulture, the Intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At But wân, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In â. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

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[462]

In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts, zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows, and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja

/170/

Crop Variety

241

Monotony in the cereal cultivation: barley and maize. Monotony in the arboriculture: almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees. And monotony in the market gardening: turnips and carrots. Other crops may interest us: that of millet in the irrigated, by its residual character (1):

[178]

1. On the replacement of millet by maize in the sixteenth century, cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 405 sq. Cf. also M. Sorre, "Les céréales alimentaires du groupe des sorghos et des millets /The alimentary cereals of the group of the sorghums and the millets/," Ann. Géo., 1942, pp. 81 sq.; D. Faucher, Géographie agraire, 1949, p. 40, on the millets that are wild or have become such. One finds some in the S. of the Drâ (Salvy, "La crise du nomadisme dans le S. marocain /The crisis of nomadism in the Moroccan South/," in CHEAM, 1944). With this very African crop of millet had to be associated a tool, the hoe. Cf. L. Febvre, La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922, pp. 345 sq.; A. Leroi-Gourhan, Milieu et techniques, 1945, p. 125, on the prodigious adaptation of the forms of this tool to the societies that utilize it. Our milieu is familiar with several of them: achaqur, agelzim, etc.

[412]

that of the lentil in the dry, by its vidual interest; that of alimentary flax, by its evocative archaism (2).

2. D. Faucher, Géographie agraire, 1949, p. 302.

[Ibuban]

/208 cont. /

241] turnip crop. But, in general, nothing to anticipate other than the chances and risks of dry agriculture. Paradoxically, this peasant is put in the situation of his colleague of the plains or piedmont plateaus. But he does not have at his disposal, as he does, the compensatory resource of space. Consequently he has applied himself to remedy these misfortunes, with a care deserving a better fate: vast staircase of tiers as at Amassin, painstaking clearing as at Iggyzen, meticulous treatment of the soil on declivities, planes, furrows and beds, in order to collect the least bit of moisture, large plantings of opuntia, the fruit of which is dried and stored, planting of almond trees above all, more than 35,000 for some 300 inhabitants.

And this puts one on the track of an explanation. Not being able to be rendered by a display of lands for sowing, this recourse to the extensive, if one may say it, is expressed by the multiplication of the tree on open soil. Yet, in fact, not the least trace of an orchard technique is to be sought here: neither grooves draining the impluvium, nor "basin," tanut, nor, naturally, pruning, grafting, or selection. The planting visibly surpasses the maintenance faculties. The almond tree has been conceived in association with the forest, like the carob tree, and is inserted among oaks or lentisks. Another characteristic: these immense plaques of opuntia, which arise for certain -- the alignment by tiers below Amassin is one proof of it -- from a general taste rather than from the spontaneous dispersion of which local folklore makes the crow the agent. In the middle of August, and

[262] when the leaves of the aknari /209/ itself shrivel and curl up because of a lack of water, there will be a joyful debauch -- and the main nourishment of the day -- in going to gulp down these sweet fruits, difficult to approach, but occupying the stomach nicely. At this time of the year, the hawkers sell an incredible number of knives designed to peel the prickly skin. The gaiety is expressed by a recrudescence of marriages. Divorces, it is true, will follow as soon as the year gives signs of inclemency.

The almond remains the principal wealth. But barley sometimes gives surprising results. According to a proverb of the

243

[Bul^Cwān]
[Taqennurt]

/214 cont./

b) Taqennurt

613
423
241

[492]
[233]
[412]

Fuq Bul^Cwān is a ground that includes 141 very unequal parcels, 100 of them exiguous and 4 spacious. If one adds this number to that of Taqennurt, one obtains a figure of some /215/ 220 parcels for a total area of approximately 55 ha. That is, an average area of about 20 ares per parcel. A considerable figure in relation to the horticulture upstream: almost tenfold. It implies a cereal economy, with animal tillage with two beasts. In fact, Bul^Cwān and Taqennurt together count nearly 200 bovines. Here the hoe is used only to finish the work around the foot of the trees.

Other verifications result from the parceling.

Names of ikhs-s	Number having rights	Number of parcels		Total of the parcels
		at Bul ^C wān	at Taqennurt	
a. Lkhil	2	21	13	34
a. Lmchari	6	13	5	18
a. Sidi Ghānem	10	32	2	34
a. Belh'ajj	1	3		3
a. H'mmo u Jāa	2	2	4	6
a. H'mmo u Qeddur	2	3	1	4
a. Si Mh'nd	7	17	7	24
Ichkajen	4	12	1	13
a. Wah'man	1	2	1	3
a. Benjāa	5	8	1	9
a. Naqr	1	1		1
a. Usstif	1	1		1
a. Bihi u Sāid	2	5		5
a. Wammern	2	10	5	15
a. Saïd	3	7	1	8
a. Bella u H'id'	1	1		1
a. Wanz'id'	1	1		1
a. Bihi u H'id'	3	1	7	8
a. Waferyad'	2		8	8
a. Alla u Bujmā	1		2	2
a. Jāa Ukways	2		2	2
a. Lqorch'i	1		1	1
a. E'annayt	6	3	4	7
a. Wārab	3		6	6
Ih'angalen	2		3	3
a. Bihi u Ali	2		6	6
Total: 26 ikhs-s...	70	143	80	223